

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 091079

NODIS
WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PGOV, KS, US

SUBJECT: EXPLORATION OF FORMULA FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACCESS
TO KIM DONG-JO
REF: SEOUL 2662

1. ALMOST IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON
AMB. KIM YONG-SHIK CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE
APRIL 6 AND DESCRIBED HIS EFFORTS IN SEOUL AND ROK PRO-
POSALS MUCH ALONG LINES OF REFTEL. HE AFFIRMED KIM DONG-
JO'S WILLINGNESS VOLUNTARILY TO INITIATE A TELEPHONE
DIALOGUE WITH SPEAKER O'NEILL AND TO FOLLOW-UP WITH LETTERS
TO THE INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEES AFFIRMING TO INFORMATION
DEVELOPED IN DIRECT TELEPHONE DIALOGUE.

2. WE DISCUSSED MODALITIES AT THIS JUNCTURE AND KIM
INDICATED HE FELT HE SHOULD FIRST CALL ON SPEAKER O'NEILL
BEFORE TALKING DIRECTLY WITH EITHER JAWORSKI OR SENATOR
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STEVENSON. O'NEILL WAS OUT OF THE CITY FRIDAY, APRIL 7,
SO AN APPOINTMENT HAS BEEN ARRANGED FOR MONDAY AFTERNOON,
APRIL 10. THE AMBASSADOR HAS A MEETING SCHEDULED WITH
JAWORSKI WEDNESDAY MORNING, AND A MEETING WITH STEVENSON
IS ALSO TENTATIVELY ON FOR WEDNESDAY.

3. IN ORDER TO AFFORD THE SPEAKER SOME ADVANCE INDICATION

OF WHAT THE AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN ABLE TO WORK OUT, AND ALSO

TO PREPARE JAWORSKI FOR THE SUBSEQUENT DIRECT MEETING, WE AGREED AT KIM YONG-SHIK'S REQUEST TO CONVEY SUBSTANCE OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH US.

4. GLEYSTEN AND RICH MET WITH JAWORSKI AND PETER WHITE ON APRIL 6. GLEYSTEN DID NOT CHARACTERIZE KIM'S PROPOSAL AS ADEQUATE, BUT HE SAID WE WERE CONVINCED THE AMBASSADOR WAS PLAYING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. MOREOVER, THE ROKG SEEMED TO BE MAKING A GENUINE THOUGH BELATED EFFORT TO MEET JAWORSKI'S NEEDS WITHIN LIMITS POSED BY POLITICAL FEARS AND NATIONALISTIC SENSIBILITIES. JAWORSKI ARGUED THE KOREANS WERE STILL FEEDING HIM SALAMI A SLICE AT A TIME. HE STRESSED NEED TO OBTAIN EVIDENCE UNDER OATH FROM KIM DONG-JO IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD BE USABLE BY THE COMMITTEE. HE WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET WITH DONG-JO "HALFWAY" IN HAWAII OR A THIRD COUNTRY AND TO PROMISE AVOIDANCE OF KLEIG LIGHTS AND MICROPHONES. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RULE OUT COMPLETELY BUILDING ON SOME ASPECT OF THE KOREAN PROPOSALS.

5. JAWORSKI MADE IT PLAIN THAT HE HAD FULL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE CONGRESS TO DETERMINE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION AND THAT NEITHER THE SPEAKER NOR THE COMMITTEE WAS IN A POSITION TO ARRANGE ANY COMPROMISE OR CURB HIS DISCRETION. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE ALSO STATED THAT IF THERE WAS NO SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION TO THIS ISSUE THEN HE WOULD BLUNTLY INFORM THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO COMPLETE THE INVESTIGATION SATISFACTORILY DUE TO LACK OF COOPERATION ON THE PART OF THE KOREANS. WHILE SUGGESTING A WILLINGNESS TO HOLD BACK TEMPORARILY ON ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN INVESTIGATORY NEEDS AND PENDING MILITARY OR ECONOMIC LEGISLATION, JAWORSKI SUGGESTED NO SUCH LEGISLATION WOULD BE PASSED IF HE DECLINED TO GIVE THE ROK A GOOD REPORT FOR COOPERATION.

6. IN ORDER TO CLOSE THE CIRCLE, JAWORSKI ASKED THAT HIS POSITION BE CONVEYED IN TURN TO AMBASSADOR KIM YONG-SHIK IN PREPARATION FOR THEIR COMING DIRECT MEETING. WE DID SO, STRESSING (OPTIMISTICALLY) THAT ROOM FOR ACCOMMODATION SEEMED TO EXIST. IN ANY EVENT INFORMAL NATURE OF OUR DIALOGUE WITH JAWORSKI HAD NOT ELICITED DECISIONS, WHICH COULD ONLY BE MADE IN DIRECT MEETING. WE HAVE ALSO EXPLAINED IMPORTANCE OF FULLY PLACING ON THE TABLE THE ROK EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE TO OUR POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

7. NOW WE ARE RECEIVING TROUBLED SECOND THOUGHTS FROM

KIM YONG-SHIK, WHO INDICATES THAT IF JAWORSKI IS NOT PREPARED TO RECEIVE FAVORABLY WHAT HE HAS TO BRING THEN HE FEARS A MEETING IS USELESS. WE DETECT A FEELING BY

KIM THAT HE HAS STRETCHED THE ROKG AS FAR AS HE CAN ON THIS, AND THAT HE DOES NOT WISH TO BE PLACED IN A NEGOTIATING STANCE BY JAWORSKI AND PRESSED TO SEEK SOMETHING WHICH HE SINCERELY BELIEVES HE CANNOT OBTAIN. THUS HE IS BEGINNING TO LOOK TO PROTECTION OF HIS OWN POSITION BACK HOME. THE APPOINTMENT WITH O'NEILL IS STILL ON THE TRACKS, HOWEVER, AND WE BELIEVE WE CAN NUDGE HIM TO PROCEED WITH JAWORSKI DESPITE HIS MISGIVINGS.

8. COMMENTS: WE HAVE GIVEN AMBASSADOR KIM A VERY SOBER CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSESSMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL PROSPECTS, TRYING HARD, NEVERTHELESS, NOT TO DEMORALIZE HIS EFFORTS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL REGARDLESS OF JAWORSKI'S TACTICS.
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